

[P.372, A]

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795
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ficial. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT

(2562-2564)

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[172]

There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called mankillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

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[484]
[361]
[172]

Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants. However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

[539]

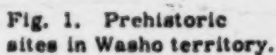
"One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

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Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

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Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of



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secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of piñon trees."

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[172]

[133]

Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft. elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

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[114]

[124]

Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31, (see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

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Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

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[221]

"The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

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"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows."

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(412)
(484)
(922)

One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore. The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

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501
(223)

The d'Azevedo Survey

In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

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(127)

The survey is similar to Fred's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

(311)
(823)
(131)

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

3 [fortunate appears on p. 93--Analyst]

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The Kings Beach complex type site, Pla-9, runs along the beach of the northern shore of Lake Tahoe in the vicinity of the towns of Kings Beach and Tahoe Vista.

Although Martis complex materials were not found stratigraphically below Kings Beach materials, the Martis complex was assigned a much earlier date. These authors suggest (1953, 21) that "the Martis Complex may have flourished some time in the first two millennia B. C. " while the Kings Beach complex is equated with the historic Washo and "had a relatively shorter duration and perhaps 1000 A. D. is about all the age we can now assign to it."

[312] The great time depth of Martis was assigned on the evidence of the use of basalt for flaked implements and the recovery of a boatstone (boat-shaped spear thrower weight) at the Martis type site. Since their report another boatstone has been found at Dangberg Hot Springs (Do-8) at a depth of 18 in. This hot spring was a favorite Washo campground, and has yielded a number of artifacts of both the Martis and Kings Beach complexes.

[361] Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 22) explain the lack of stratified sites in their highland survey as based on "a tendency for people to settle in a spot which has not before been used." Their evidence is mainly that the sites are in open areas and that local supernatural beliefs indicate a fear of previously occupied spots. This tendency clearly breaks down in the case of spring sites in the lowlands.

The following elements are listed for the two complexes:

Martis

- "1. Basalt preferred material for chipped implements.
2. Obsidian and chert used very rarely.
3. Projectile points fairly large and heavy, roughly chipped, variable in form.
4. Mano and metate for seed-grinding.
5. Cylindrical pestle and bowl-mortar (?).
6. Boatstones (and atlatl ?).
7. Economic emphasis on hunting and seed using.
8. Basalt flake scrapers with pressure-retouched edge abundant.
9. Expanded-base finger-held flaked drills or punches common.

Kings Beach

- "1. Obsidian and siliceous flint preferred for projectile points.
2. Basalt used very rarely for chipped implements.
3. Bedrock mortar for seed-grinding (site Eld-24, Eld-25).
4. Projectile points small, light, side-notched.
5. Economic emphasis on fishing and seed-using.
6. Probably ascribable to late prehistoric Washo tribe.
7. Bow and arrow offensive weapon (inferred).
8. Scrapers rare; drills absent."

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Martis complex sites are Pla-5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13; Nev-8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13; and Alp-5. King Beach complex sites are Pla-9, 10; Eld-24, 25, 26; Alp-4, 6, 7, 9; Plu-7; and Do-1.²

The separation of these sites into two complexes appears to be warranted, but the classification is not always consistent. For example, a Desert Side-notched (DSN) projectile point was found at the Martis site Pla-6 (excavation by G. Arnold in 1957) at the 18-24 in. level (Elsasser, 1960, 71). The DSN point is characteristic of Kings Beach and yet was found at depth in a Martis site. Also, Elsasser (1960, 38) excavated Nev-16 and found three DSN points stratigraphically below Martis points.

Sites in Douglas County, Nevada

With the exception of Do-1, none of the sites of the Heizer and Elsasser survey mentioned above were in Nevada. A number of sites have been added recently to the University of California Archaeological Site Survey Records for Douglas County, Nevada, by George E. Haigh, Albert B. Elsasser, Robert F. Heizer and Gordon L. Grosscup. Since this material has not been published, a brief description of each site is given below. When the California records are incomplete this writer has made the appropriate additions.

Do-2 was an important Washo winter campground around a spring where a crescent and a scraper plane were found. The Schubert collection includes a 7 1/2 in. bifacial mano from the site.

Do-3 is a smoke-blackened rock shelter where a historic trade bead, a mano, a metate, and obsidian and chert chips were collected by the University of California Archaeological Survey. The Schubert collection (see below) includes two mortars about 5 in. in dia. and an oval mano of the same length.

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(103)

D'Azevedo recorded the Washo name "hapawuyuanal" for this site. William C. Brown excavated a portion of this site in 1960 for the Nevada State Museum.

Do-4 is a bedrock mortar site, probably the same as #1 from Freed's Survey.

Do-5, 6, and 7 are three large sites in a group, where stone chips, broken metates, bits of shell, metates, manos, hundreds of projectile points, a piece of worked bone, a charmetone and a human skull were found. A local collector has also reported finding a round blue glass bead here.

Do-8 is a campsite below a hot spring where a local collector found a boatstone at a depth of about 18 in. The boatstone was donated to the Nevada State Museum.

Workshop chips and points were found here by the University of California Archaeological Survey along with broken metates and manos. This site was excavated by S. M. Wheeler for the Nevada State Park Commission in 1939. The site yielded projectile points, bones, scrapers and a mano.

W. L. d'Azevedo's notes report that the site seems buried under sand with most of the artifacts found on the slope near the hot stream. The Schubert collection from this site contains 3 manos, 1 drill, 4 scrapers, 6 blades and the following projectile points: 4 DSN, Martis types 1b-2, 3c-2, 4c-1, and 5c-1; 3 small leaf-shaped; 1 triangular; 1 small side-notched with a convex base; 1 small barbed with a concave stem; and 2 shouldered with flat based stems.

Do-9 is a bedrock mortar site beside a small creek.

Do-10 is a campsite where several points, a basalt scraper, workshop chips and a bedrock mortar were found.

Do-11 is a campsite where approximately 30 points and numerous workshop chips were found.

Do-12 is a campsite below a hot spring. Elsasser (1960) excavated this site and found Martis complex projectile points and other artifacts to a depth of 30 in. with one point recovered from a 48-51 in. level. The excavated materials and private collections from this site include 1 obsidian crescent, 1 mortar fragment, 1 stone discoidal, 1 bone awl, 1 bone dagger, 1 incised bone fragment, 2 unshaped pestle fragments, 48 manos, 49 basin

metates, and 385 identifiable projectile points or fragments. One DEN point was taken from the surface, and 10 Humboldt Concave Base A, 3 Humboldt Basal Notched, and 1 B-11 (Yosemite) points were found within the first 12 in. of fill. 172 ●

Eisasser suggests (1960, 60) that "The culture disclosed at Do-12 is an outlying manifestation of the Martis Complex" although "there seems to be a dearth of the crudely chipped basalt blades and scrapers which are so characteristic of the northern sites." He also suggests (1960, 50) that "the Tamarack Complex, in Yosemite National Park, appears to be the candidate for the successor or at least the representative of the terminal Martis period in the Carson Valley."

Do-13 is a campsite where a 93 year old Washo woman, Susie Dick, now residing in Minden, used to live with other families when she was young (around 1885). Later on she moved to Double Spring (Do-2). The Schubert collection from this site includes 8 scrapers, 1 point fragment, and 1 basalt side-notched point (Martis type 4a).

Do-14 is a campsite on a mountain slope northwest of Do-13.

Do-15 is a burial site.

Do-16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21 are Washo campsites near pinonut gathering areas and streams or springs. Obsidian chips, projectile points, metate fragments, a bedrock mortar, and a chopper are among the artifacts found at these sites.

Do-22 is a bedrock mortar site near a spring with associated petroglyphs.

Do-23 is a campsite on a high terrace above a river where scattered chert and obsidian chips were found.

Other Recorded Sites

The author is aware of archeological sites in Washo territory recorded by the University of California Archaeological Survey and the Nevada State Museum in addition to those described above. These are principally in Ormsby and Washoe counties of Nevada, and Sierra and Plumas counties of California.

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Sie-20 is an extensive campsite in Sierra County, California. Elsasser (1960) found that the surface collection and excavation here indicated another Martis complex site.

A number of sites have been found around Washoe Lake, Washoe County, Nevada. Schellbach (1927) described an extensive site to the east of the lake. Gordon L. Grosscup (personal communication) reported that the east shore of the lake consists, essentially, of one large sand dune broken by washes. Nearly every wash contains artifacts, and has been recorded as a site. The material (manos, metates and other artifacts) appears to come from a thin buried layer within the sand dune. There is also a bedrock mortar site near the south end of the lake.

Other sites have been reported for Washoe County near Steamboat Springs, on the mountain slopes west of Reno, and in Idlewild Park in Reno. Historic sources indicate an intensive Washo use of the Truckee River, so a survey should reveal the existence of sites there as well.

In addition to the recorded sites, there are many unrecorded archaeological sites in Washo territory. Bedrock mortars are known to be located near the various contemporary Washo communities. Private collectors have also found a number of sites.

Private Collections

Three of the private collections of artifacts taken from Washo territory are reported here. These sites are indicated on the site map by initials, which are abbreviations of each site's locale.

A. Juanita Schubert of Minden, Nevada, has a collection of 261 stone artifacts from 11 sites in Washo territory. Artifacts from sites included in the California Survey have already been listed. All the sites listed here, except the Sheep Bridge site, are in California.

1. The site that yielded the largest collection is near Prosser Creek (PC) and may be considered as part of the same group of sites as Nev-10 and Nev-11 reported by Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 7). The Schubert collection from this site contains 143 artifacts, all of basalt except for 11 obsidian and two chert pieces. The artifacts are essentially the same as those reported by Heizer and Elsasser. In a classification of this collection it was necessary to add the subtype "leaf shaped with square base" to the Martis classification by Elsasser (1960).

2 [see footnote on p. 92-93 -- Analyst]

2. The Bagley Valley (BV) site is in a flat 1 mi. north of Heenan Lake and 1 1/2 mi. east of Monitor, California. Three projectile points 1 1/4 to 2 in. in length were found, one with a concave-sided blade and convex-based stem; one with a long blade, barbs, and an expanding stem; and one with large barbs and a contracting stem.

3. The Heenan Lake (HL) site is along the north shore of Heenan Lake. Two white chert scrapers, an obsidian blade, and 14 projectile points were collected here. The single basalt projectile point could be classified as Martis 4a. There are four DSN, 1 Humboldt Cave Base B, 1 rectangular, 2 leaf-shaped, 1 side-notched with a straight base, 2 shouldered, 1 with large barbs and no stem, and a 2 1/2 in. shouldered point with a serrated blade.

4. The Mokelumne River (MR) site is along the headwaters of the river 1 1/2 mi. southwest of Ebbetts Pass and 1 1/2 mi. down a dirt road south of State Highway 4. The collection of 35 artifacts from this site consists of 2 manos, 4 scrapers, 5 blades, 1 point fragment, a 6 in. point classifiable as Martis 1b, 6 DSN, 4 leaf-shaped with concave base; and obsidian and basalt forms classifiable as Martis types 1a-1, 3c-3, 3d-1, 4a-1, 4d-1, 5b-1, 5c-1, 5d-1, 5f-1, and 5g-1.

5. The Antelope Valley (AV) site is on the east side of this valley about 3 mi. southeast of the town of Topaz. A single white chert DSN point with a notched base was found here.

6. The Long Valley (LV) site is 2 3/4 mi. south of the town of Chats and 1/4 mi. west of U.S. Highway 395 on a foothill slope overlooking Long Creek. A 1 1/2 in. basalt drill and a 3/4 in. triangular point tip were found here.

7. The Sheep Bridge (SB) site is on the east bank of the East Carson River 1/4 mi. south of Horseshoe Bend. The collection from this site consists of a mano, five scrapers, and a blade.

B. Harry Hawkins of Markleeville, California, has a collection of artifacts from a Washo campsite along a stream on his ranch at the head of Diamond Valley (DV) and 1/2 mi. east of California State Highway 4. Mr. Hawkins' father remembered Washo camping at this site. The site contains 32 bedrock mortars.

The collection from this site consists of 37 points of less than 2 in. in length and two points about 3 in. in length. There are 2 leaf-shaped, 17 triangular with concave or straight bases, 8 shouldered, 1 small barbed, 1 stemmed with a concave-sided blade, 2 large barbs, and 8 DSN. A 5 in.

172 circular arrowshaft straightener of steatite with a slanting 1/2 in. hole through the center was found here and is in the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Utah.

C. Iva Ashurst of Topaz, California, has collections from two sites west of Topaz Lake (TL) and U.S. Highway 395 in Douglas County, Nevada, close to the Nevada-California state line.

1. A cache of 21 leaf-shaped obsidian blades was found, on the south slope of a wash about 50 ft. west of U.S. 395 and 1/4 mi. north of Topaz Lodge. The blades, which were found stacked flat, range in length from 3 1/4 in. to 7 7/8 in., in width from 1 5/8 in. to 3 in. Their mean length is 4 1/4 in.; mean width is 2 in.

2. At a site 1/4 mi. west of TL-1, and at the foot of the mountain west of Topaz Lodge, more than 1600 glass trade beads were found in an area about 6 by 6 ft. In one spot of this site was a deposit of wood ash where a number of the beads had melted together. The beads were found scattered throughout the first 6 to 8 in. of deposit and apparently covered an area the size of a house floor with a fireplace in the center. The beads may have been used as a cremation offering.

Historic Washo Artifacts

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411 In the Nevada State Museum there are projectile points from the Dr. Lee collection made by two Washo Indians, Lame Tom and Poker Charlie. Most of these are of obsidian although some are of glass, basalt, chert, or white porcelain. In one typical display circle of 24 points 16 are side-notched, 7 shouldered, and 1 barbed. Most of the points are the General (obsidian, 0-26 mm., concave base) and Delta (not obsidian, 27+ mm., V-shaped base) subtypes of the Desert Side-notched (DSN) points as defined by M. A. Baumhoff and J. S. Bryne (1959). In a sample of 109 of these historic Washo points not one was of the Redding (bell-shaped base and comma-shaped notch) or Sierra (basal notched) subtypes of the DSN.

All of the modern Washo points presented by Heizer and Elsasser (1953, Fig. 1), and attributed to H. N. Rust, are the General subtype of DSN. The DSN points found in the 1953 survey by Heizer and Elsasser at the Kings Beach type site are the General or Delta subtypes, or some variant of them. Two of the DSN points found at Eld-24 may be Sierran. Of the 23 DSN points in the Schubert and Hawkins collections at least four are the Sierran subtype. Elsasser (1960) claims that the Sierran DSN occurs throughout the Sierra

Nevada at altitudes of 5000 ft. and above. There is an indication, therefore, that although the Sierran subtype of DSN is occasionally found archeologically in Washo territory, it was not made by recent Washo flint knappers.

The author's survey of historic and prehistoric bedrock mortar sites indicates that recent Washo prefer a more shallow basin mortar than was used previously. This was also suggested by a Washo woman, Bertha Holbrook, who said that the California Indians used much deeper bedrock mortars. Most of the recent mortar holes range from 1 to 2 1/2 in. in depth; prehistoric mortars in Washo territory range up to 7 in. in depth. Today a boulder of 3 to 5 lbs., with a rounded end, is used as a pestle. A 4 to 5 ft. high stick-and-cloth frame is constructed over the working area to protect the flour from wind and to provide shade.

Schellbach (1927, 400) reported a 6 5/8 in. ornamented bone awl-like implement found on the east side of Washoe Lake, where "there is an extensive old Washo camp-and-village site. The prevailing winds . . . cause the sand-dunes to shift, exposing broken fire-stones, flint chips, arrowpoints, bird and animal bones, and an occasional human skeleton." The ornamentation is along the flat surface of the tool as a series of small drilled dots in a pattern similar to a zigzag Washo basketry design.

Two handgame bones in the Dr. Lee collection at the Nevada State Museum in Carson City came from the Fulston Ranch in Jack's Valley.

Petroglyphs

Steward (1929) categorized the petroglyphs and pictographs of California, Nevada, Utah and Arizona into 50 motifs. On the basis of the distribution of these elements he found four design areas.

Steward's Area A included California east of the Sierras, Nevada and lower California. Petroglyphs are predominant in this area; especially prominent are geometric elements with curvilinear designs and certain naturalistic elements. Area B includes Utah and Arizona and is characterized by specific bird, frog, lizard, and kachina-like human petroglyphs. Area C is the eastern part of southern California and is characterized by zigzag pictographs. Area D is the Santa Barbara-Tulare region and is characterized by pictographs in the form of elaborate lizards, "spoked wheels," "ladders," and "rakes." Concentric circles, wavy or zigzag lines, human figures, and a "sun disk" are found in all four areas.

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532 A study by the author of the elements in 12 of the 23 petroglyph groups in or adjacent to Washo territory was made from Steward's data. This indicated that, although seven sites were included from California and only five from Nevada, the Nevada sites have a greater variety and larger number of design elements.

L. Arthur Payen (1959) reported that the petroglyphs in the area around Donner Summit were in the typical Great Basin style with a great variety of elements in zigzags, diamond series, human forms, animal forms, and "rain symbols." Payen postulated that the combination of pecking and rubbing is more frequent in the "Valley Sierran" style than in the Great Basin.

At the Lagomarsino Petroglyph Group near Virginia City, Nevada (26-St-1 or Steward's number 208), Baumhoff, Heizer and Elsasser (1958, 3) found that "The techniques employed in producing the petroglyphs were pecking, scratching, and rubbing, in that order of importance."

It was possible to demonstrate with statistical significance that two distinct art styles were present at the Lagomarsino site and a chronology was assigned to the two styles. Certain elements occur more often on the cliff face; others occur more often on the talus boulders. The "cliff face style" includes the elements of plant form, bird track, gridiron, rake, dots and crosshatching with a general tendency toward angularity. The "talus boulder style" includes the sun figure, polliwog, asterisk (or star), concentric circles, circle, and curvilinear line with a general tendency toward the curvilinear. Both styles are considered part of the Great Basin geometric style of Steward's Area A.

172 With a petroglyph style from the Grimes site (26-Ch-3 or Steward's number 207) at Fallon, Nevada, included as earlier, the following chronology of petroglyph styles was presented by Baumhoff, Heizer and Elsasser (1958).

1. Beginning some time before 7000 years ago. A groove-and-pit style now found heavily patinated at the Grimes site.
2. Beginning 3000 to 4000 years ago. Great Basin curvilinear ("talus boulder" at Lagomarsino) style found throughout the Great Basin.
3. Beginning about 1000 years ago. Great Basin rectilinear ("cliff face" at Lagomarsino) style found along the western margins of the Great Basin.

It is doubtful whether any of the petroglyphs mentioned here were made by the Washo Indians or their ancestors within the last 150 or more years.

The Washo, Northern Palute, and other Great Basin Indians generally deny that they made petroglyphs. 172 ●

Heizer and Baumhoff (1950) state that petroglyphs found along the Walker, Carson and Truckee rivers are generally lacking in associated occupational debris, are along routes of deer migration, and are probably connected with hunting magic. Baumhoff, Heizer and Elsasser (1958) found a slightly different picture for the Lagomarsino site farther away from game trails. For this site the hypothesis presented was that it was ideally situated for a summer or early fall camping spot and the petroglyphs were probably made by shamans, possibly seeking power or in food increase rites. The interpretation of petroglyphs as maps was deprecated. Kroeber (1938) suggests that if native art serves ceremonial purposes the act of presenting the symbols, rather than communication, was the important thing.

A petroglyph group, recorded by d'Azevedo (1956), in Carson Valley has associated occupational debris. This is at 26-Do-22 in Taylor Canyon west of Foothill Road in western Douglas County. D'Azevedo's Washo informants knew of the historic use of this site by Washo, but were unaware of the petroglyph group associated with it.

Summary Comments

Elsasser (1960) drew several conclusions from his survey and excavations in Washo territory. Five of his points are presented below.

1. The Martis complex was located in the north-central Sierra Nevada largely in the transition or mid-altitude life zones (optimum altitudes 2500 and 6000 ft., depending on the side of the mountain range, west and east, respectively).

2. The greater number of Martis complex sites are on the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada, possibly a result of more intensive survey on the eastern side.

3. There is (1960, 72) "evidence of the strong resemblance of Martis Complex points with those recovered from the Middle archaeological Horizon of central California . . . it remains possible that the known high- or mid-altitude Martis sites represent a summer occupation of a basically central Californian culture."

172 4. Although similar, Martis type artifacts are distinct from all other surrounding artifact assemblages.

5. Clear evidence for a culture that is transitional between Martis and Kings Beach is lacking.

The Washo, the earlier Kings Beach complex people, and the still older Martis complex people solved the problems of survival in quite similar ways. We suspect that they are the same people at different periods of time. Still, caution must be exercised in attempting to correlate archeological manifestations with ethnographic groups in the area.

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174 The present writer tested the hypothesis that the Washo of the ethnographic present were closer to the archeologically known Lovelock culture than the Northern Paiute or Achomawi. This was done by comparing a list of 64 traits of Lovelock culture prepared by Grosscup (1954, 22-23) with the ethnographic trait lists by Stewart (1941) for Washo, Achomawi, and Tasiget Northern Paiute. This comparison showed that the three ethnographically known cultures were almost exactly equal in their similarity to Lovelock culture. It also showed that the material culture for the west central Great Basin was so similar that considerable caution is necessary in assigning a complex, a site, or a component to any particular historic tribe. In view of these facts it appears that extensive excavation, particularly of known Washo sites, will be necessary to confidently ascribe the Kings Beach complex to the prehistoric Washo.

Notes

122 1. A National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship made it possible for the author to devote time to this study. Gordon L. Grosscup encouraged and aided this research with his criticism.

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172 2. The map facing the title page represents the central portion of historic Washo territory. It was drawn to include archeological sites in Washo territory on which the author had information.

Sites from the survey by Freed are numbered 1 through 31. The University of California Archaeological Survey sites are designated by county

code and numbered sequence of their recordings, i. e., Do-1 was the first site recorded for Douglas County, Nevada. Sites from which private collections were made are indicated by initials of each site's locale, i. e., the Prosser Creek site is indicated by P.C.

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3. Lowie (1939, 327-9) reports the use of a cedar bark raft, 12-15 ft. long by 10 ft. wide, that was propelled along the shore by a long pole used for fishing on Lake Tahoe. If this was pre-white, it was rare because this writer's informants knew nothing about it.

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Northern Paiute NR13

been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership within a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for antelope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also concentrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger groupings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as opposed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad differentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock, and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evidence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once extended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they represent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

Washo
AchomawiNT20
AS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		To	K1	K2	K3	To	To	Pa	Ma	At	Se	Tg	Wa	K1	AM
<u>Whirlwind (pitomawa)</u>															
N W A 824	2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
776	2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
789	2730. People throw water on whirlwind	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<u>Omens</u>															
N W A 787	2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
	2732. You will carry a deer	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2731a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2737. Magpie call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2738. Crow call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2739. Dove call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2740. Meadowlark call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2740a. Coyote call	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<u>Various</u>															
(See also 2295a-2301)															
N W A 784	2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
N 753	2741a. Finger rots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2741b. Hand deforms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2743. Gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Petroglyphs</u>															
N W 172	2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
	2745. Informants had only heard of them	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
	2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
	2748. "Devil"	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
	2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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